

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY KABUL

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION ANKARA INFO GENEVA FROM SECSTATE
NOV 3 REPEATED YOU:

QUOTE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SNAR

SUBJECT: TURKISH OPIUM BAN

REF: ANKARA 8418

1. IN VIEW ECEVIT'S CAMPAIGN STATEMENTS AND REPORTS HE
MIGHT EVENTUALLY TAKE SOME ACTION RELATING TO BAN ON
CULTIVATION OF OPIUM POPPY, WE ARE ACTIVELY CONSIDERING
POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION. FOLLOWING IS TENTATIVE
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OUTLINE OUR THOUGHTS, ON WHICH WE REQUEST MISSION'S
COMMENTS AND FURTHER SUGGESTIONS.

2. WE THINK IT WISE TO AVOID CREATING SITUATION IN WHICH

ECEVIT WILL BE COMPELLED TAKE PUBLIC POSITION. THOUGH WE REALIZE HE MIGHT TAKE SOME DRAMATIC STEP WITHOUT PRIOR DISCUSSION, HE IS PROBABLY ASTUTE ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND KIND OF CRISIS THIS COULD PROVOKE. HE MAY WISH TO ASCERTAIN OUR SENSITIVITY BEFORE DECIDING ON COURSE OF ACTION. IF AND WHEN, AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, HE TAKES SOME STEP IN HIS NEW OFFICIAL CAPACITY, OUR RESPONSE SHOULD THEN BE TAILORED TO MEET IT, HOPEFULLY WITHOUT PUBLIC CONFRONTATION IN EARLY STAGES.

3. FLURRY CAUSED HERE BY PRESS REPORTS CONVINCES US CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC REACTION TO TURKISH REVOCATION OF BAN WOULD BE SEVERE. BECAUSE ISSUE MIGHT ARISE IN ANY OF

MULTITUDE OF SPECIFIC FORMS, AND OUR ANTICIPATION COULD PRECIPITATE THE PROBLEM, WE PLAN CONTINUE TO REFLECT CONFIDENCE IN TURKEY'S CONTINUED IMPLEMENTATION OF BAN, WITH BOTH PUBLIC AND CONGRESS, AND TO AVOID CONTINGENCY TYPE BRIEFINGS. AT SAME TIME, DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY SHOULD BE IN AGREEMENT ON BROAD OUTLINES OF STRATEGY SHOULD ECEVIT RAISE ISSUE. SPECIFIC RESPONSE WOULD THEN BE TAILORED.

4. OUR INCLINATION IS TO PRESS AHEAD PRECISELY AS BEFORE IN ALL ROUTINE CONTACTS IN NARCOTICS CONTROL PROGRAMS AND AVOID CREATING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE NEED OR EXPECT ANY REASSURANCE. POLICY STATEMENT OF NEW GOVERNMENT MAY WELL CONTAIN SOMETHING ON OPIUM, BUT WE SHOULD NOT PRESS FOR IT, AND IN FACT WOULD NOT BE OVERLY CONCERNED IF SUBJECT SIMPLY WERE NOT MENTIONED AT ALL. IN NORMAL COURSE OF EVENTS OCCASION WILL ARISE WHEN ACTION OF NEW GOVERNMENT WILL OF NECESSITY CONVEY INDICATION OF INTENTION, PERHAPS IN CONTEXT OF TRANSFER OF FUNDS, PERHAPS IN CONNECTION WITH PREPARATIONS FOR CND MEETING EARLY NEXT YEAR WHICH KIRCA IS SCHEDULED TO CHAIR, OR SOME OTHER CONNECTION. WE SHOULD LET ISSUE SURFACE NATURALLY IF POSSIBLE.

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5. IN THE INTERIM, WITH UTMOST TACT AND PRIVACY, WE MAY BE ABLE TO CONVEY TO KEY TURKS IN COURSE OF ROUTINE CONTACTS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO TURKEY'S ADHERENCE TO ESTABLISHED PATTERS OF ACTION, AND A CERTAIN DEGREE OF POTENTIAL FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE BAN. FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE THEMES THAT MISSION OFFICERS COULD PLAY AS APPROPRIATE IN INFORMAL CONTACTS:

A. TURKISH BAN HAS HAD POSITIVE EFFECTS ON US HEROIN PROBLEM. CONCERN AT TURKEY'S ROLE AS RAW MATERIAL SOURCE FOR FRENCH LABORATORIES HAD PUT WHOLE FABRIC OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS IN JEOPARDY. BAN WAS TURNING POINT BOTH

PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND FACTUALLY. FLOW OF HEROIN FROM FRANCE THROUGH TRADITIONAL CHANNELS IS DOWN, STREET PRICE UP, QUALITY DOWN, AND NUMBER OF ADDICTS ALSO DECLINING. ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT HEROIN SITUATION HAS PEAKED, AS NOTED BY PRESIDENT IN SEPTEMBER 11 REMARKS TO CONFERENCE AT WHITE HOUSE, ALTHOUGH IT IS STILL MOST SERIOUS AND EMOTION-LADEN FORM OF DRUG ABUSE. IN DESCRIBING SCENE TO US PUBLIC AND CONGRESS, AMERICAN OFFICIALS REGULARLY NOTE THAT WITHOUT TURKEY'S SUPPORT THIS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE. COOPERATION IN ENFORCEMENT HAS ALSO ASSISTED IN FORCING TRAFFICKERS

TO SURFACE, MAKING THEM INCREASINGLY VULNERABLE TO CONTROLS.

B. TURKEY HAS TAKEN A FORTHRIGHT PUBLIC POSITION IN UN FORUMS IN ANNOUNCING BAN WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER TREATY AND IN ENCOURAGING OTHERS TO FOLLOW HER LEAD IN BRINGING OPIUM PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING UNDER CONTROL AS STIPULATED IN SINGLE CONVENTION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS. SUBSTANTIAL POSITIVE INFLUENCE IS BEING EXERCISED INDIRECTLY, ON AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN, IN PARTICULAR, BY TURKISH EXAMPLE. SUCCESS IN TURKEY IN OVERCOMING EFFECTS OF BAN ON THOSE HAVING LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IS THE BEST EXAMPLE AND ARGUMENT FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW SUIT. IT IS CLEARLY IN OUR OWN INTEREST,
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AS WELL AS IN TURKEY'S , TO SEE THAT THIS PROGRAM SUCCEEDS IN ITS ORIGINAL CONCEPT.

C. USG RECOGNIZES THAT A STRONG AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM IS REQUIRED AS PART OF GENERAL DEVELOPMENT SCENE IN TURKEY, NOT LIMITED TO POPPY GROWING AREAS. IN PAST WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THIS KIND OF PROGRESS AND CAN CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO PLANS TO ADD TO THE \$35.7 MILLION GRANT IN SUPPORT OF OPIUM BAN. IT WOULD APPEAR MOST APPROPRIATE FOR GOT TO CONCENTRATE ON MAKING BEST POSSIBLE USE OF THESE GRANT FUNDS, WHICH ARE NOT YET EXHAUSTED, TO DEVELOP VIABLE AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN THE POPPY AREAS WHICH COULD SERVE AS MODELS FOR SIMILAR EXPANDED PROGRAMS IN THE POPPY REGION WHICH MIGHT WARRANT CONTINUING CONCESSIONAL FINANCING FROM THE US OR OTHER DONORS. IN ANY EVENT, WE WOULD WANT TO EXAMINE ANY NEW PROPOSAL FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE POPPY REGION AS A DISCRETE ACTIVITY AND NOT REPEAT NOT RELATED TO THE \$35.7 MILLION GRANT. FYI TURKISH EFFORTS TO OBTAIN ANOTHER "POPPY PAYMENT" WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS ILL-CONCEALED PRESSURE, WHEREAS A FOLLOW-THROUGH ON ESTABLISHED PROGRAMS WOULD FIND A MORE RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE HERE. END FYI.

6. AT THIS STAGE WE WOULD NOT WISH TO PLAY ON THE PUNITIVE ASPECTS OF ANOTHER CONFRONTATION. TURKEY HAS GIVEN A COMMITMENT TO US AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND SHOULD ANTICIPATE A SHARP REACTION IF POPPY GROWING WERE RESUMED. SPECIFIC ARGUMENTS ALONG THESE LINES CAN BE OUTLINED WHEN AND IF NECESSARY. EVEN RUMORS OF SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF REVOCATION OF BAN COULD RESULT IN A RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION HERE,

IN WHICH A RETURN TO THE ATTITUDES OF MAY 1971 IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY. WE WOULD EXPECT CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE TO INVOKE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 481 OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT AND OTHER SIMILAR MEASURES WHICH WOULD HAVE DRAMATIC EFFECT ON OUR BROAD RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY. HOPEFULLY, ANY INITIAL DISCUSSIONS COULD
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REMAIN PRIVATE UNTIL EACH SIDE HAD A THOROUGH APPRECIATION OF THE OTHER'S POSITION.

7. RENEWED CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY IN TURKEY IS UNACCEPTABLE TO US. OUR ANALYSIS OF DRAFT LAWS SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT LATE IN 1971 AND AT MID-SUMMER IN 1972 CALLING FOR CONTROLLED CONDITIONS INDICATED NO REAL IMPROVEMENT IN ENFORCEMENT. THE COST OF MOUNTING AN ADEQUATE ENFORCEMENT EFFORT AMONG THE THOUSANDS OF PRIVATE GROWERS WOULD VIRTUALLY ELIMINATE GOVERNMENT PROFITS. LEGITIMATE INCOME FROM OPIUM IS NOT OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE IN ANY EVENT. ALTERNATELY, CULTIVATION ON STATE FARMS WOULD CONCENTRATE ENFORCEMENT REQUIREMENTS WITHOUT NECESSARILY REDUCING THEM, AND WOULD IN NO WAY AMELIORATE THE FACT THAT PRIVATE PARTIES WOULD BE BANNED FROM CULTIVATION. THE BAN IS THE BEST CONTROL.

8. IN SUMMARY, THE FEELING HERE IS THAT WE HAVE AS MUCH OF A STAKE IN HELPING TO MAKE THE PROGRAM WORK IN TURKEY AS DOES TURKEY IN SEEING THAT THE BAN IS ACCEPTED THERE WHILE ITS COMMITMENT IS HONORED. WE BELIEVE AN ATTITUDE OF AFFIRMATIVE WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER IN ENFORCEMENT AND INCOME SUBSTITUTION PROGRAMS IS BEST FOR THE TIME BEING, BUT WILL WELCOME MISSION'S EVALUATION OF CIRCUMSTANCE AND PERSONALITIES, AND POSSIBLE UTILITY OF OTHER TECHNIQUES OF APPROACH. KISSINGER

UNQUOTE RUSH

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